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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the relationship between national identity and the so-called "marginal" areas of Irish television, i.e., advertisements, continuity announcements, and promotional trailers. The following issues are considered: (1) how these "spaces" between television programs compare in terms of use and influence to parliamentary politics, and to nuclear power; (2) the marked differences of these "marginal" areas between programs on Irish television and their British counterparts; and (3) prime time commercials made in Ireland and devoted to the products and services of Irish companies and organizations, or of subsidiaries of foreign companies in Ireland, and how they converge in theme, structure, and convention with party political broadcasts at election time (three nation-building prime time slot commercials are used as illustrations). It is concluded that the discourses in these commercials mobilize an ideological construct of "The Nation" and "national identity," both as a goal and as the means of attaining it; television no longer simply reports elections--it makes elections; and the dominant political version of "national identity" becomes as much a question of trust as the continuity announcement's message, i.e., keep tuned to this station and things are bound to turn out well. (24 references) (CGD)

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Adspots and Green Eyes:

'National' identity in Irish TV commercials and other 'marginal' areas of Irish television

Constructing images of "The Nation" has long formed part of television's discourse. As in many other less-industrialised countries, the introduction of television in Ireland at the beginning of the 1960s took place within the context of a debate about the relationship between television and "national identity".

Ireland's public television service, Radio Telefis Eireann (RTE) was established in 1961 and has a monopoly as the only television station operating within the State. But at least 60% of households in the territory are now in what are defined as "multi-channel" areas, either covered by cable systems (which relay the two RTE channels, the two BBC stations, ITV and Channel 4) or in border or coastal regions where signals from British transmitters in Northern Ireland or Wales can be picked up directly by domestic aerials.[1] Besides having this international competition, RTE relies on a large amount of imported material - particularly from Britain and the USA - within its total output, and the station transmits a higher proportion of acquired programmes than any other organisation in Europe.[2] Of a total output of about 5,400 hours per year, less than 30% of hours are home-produced.[3] International sales of home-produced programmes are also generally regarded as "disappointing", amounting to only £1 million from 1981 to 1984 inclusive.[4]

Given this unequal flow of information and culture, the question of how home-produced and imported television programmes can promote, reflect

or undermine national identity has continued to dominate public debate about broadcasting in Ireland; as in other countries, the coming role of Direct Broadcasting Satellites (DBS) has also added fuel to the debate.

But one of the difficulties in discussing "national identity" in Ireland is that the concept itself has become increasingly problematised within the political developments of the past two decades. These developments include not only the increasing instability of Northern Ireland, but also increasing polarisation over social and political issues in the South, with a recent fragmentation of the main parliamentary parties, the rise of smaller parties and "independent" politicians, and the virtual collapse of the two-party type system (Fianna Fail governments interspersed with Fine Gael/Labour coalitions).

Much important theoretical work on Irish television to date has examined "national identity" in areas such as News, current affairs, documentaries, series on Irish history, drama, light entertainment and serials. But the spaces between programmes on Irish television - such as advertisements, continuity announcements and promotional trailers - have not been analysed at all. They are not mentioned in any of the TV stations' guides or in the programme listings and critics' reviews in newspapers, and are not featured in the general audience ratings figures as such.

These areas occupy a timeless, not-TV slot in the schedules, and are assigned an <u>ideological invisibility</u>. However, far from being a "marginal" space between programmes, they occupy a major proportion of broadcast hours - in Ireland, they make up an average seven minutes of broadcast time per hour; of all TV stations in the EEC which are financed by both advertising and licence fees, RTE has the highest allowable advertising time - 10%.

Television commercials nowadays are often more expensive and more carefully produced than the programmes they "interrupt"; they can be formally and technically highly innovative, imaginative and witty, and call on top film directors, actors and script-writers. The very time constraints on TV commercials force them to rely heavily on generic conventions to mobilise meanings, condensing images and stories into brief yet often enormously powerful vignettes.

Over the last ten years, one of the most noticeable and significant structural changes in a night's viewing has not been in the TV programmes themselves but in the spaces in between. Promotional trailers, for example, were one of the first areas of television to make substantial use of new technology such as the Quantel paintbox.[5]

John Hartley[6] argues that "marginal" areas of television such as commercials and continuity can be compared to marginal seats in parliamentary politics: both appear to be peripheral, unimportant and insignificant, "where little happens", and yet they are also seen as disruptive, potentially threatening or decisive. The focus of TV "Election Specials" is on the contradiction not between individual opposing parties so much as between "safe" and "(key) marginal seats". Marginal seats in the electoral arena are the focus of fascination because, Hartley argues, they empirically "prove" the possibility of change, they become a suspenseful, risky area on the edge which poses a threat to the central "safe" area. Similarly, the emergence of new, smaller political parties and tendencies is presented in the media as both irrelevant and threatening. Recent examples in Ireland are the emergence of the Progressive Democrats in the South, and the rise of Sinn Fein's vote in the Northern Ireland elections and the party's decision to enter local government; in Britain, notable examples of this "marginality" are the treatment of the Militant

Tendency in the Labour Party, and the initial years of the SDP/Liberal Alliance. Each in turn is made sense of as being both totally peripheral and possibly dangerous.

Broadcast television has a similar contradiction. As Hartley points out:

> We are constantly being reminded by continuity announcers and Raymond Williams alike to see television as a flow. In this respect, the contents of whatever is broadcast between programmes (i.e. trailers, time-checks, announcements, advertisements, continuity itself) must constitute the principal structural marginality of television.[7]

Far from being insignificant, the broadcasting corporations recognise the importance of "Continuity/Presentation", creating specialised departments and conventions to deal with it.

In a sense, this is a marginality within a medium which itself is marginalised: like cinema before it, and more recently the pop video, television has been dismissed as marginal in significance by critics, academics and politicians alike, and yet it is at the same time seen as potentially disruptive or dangerous. In the Irish context, one often-used quotation of this view is President de Valera's opening address at the inauguration of RTE is 1962, in which he compared the power of television to nuclear power:

> I must admit that sometimes when I think of television and radio and their immense power, I feel somewhat afraid. Like atomic energy it can be used for incalculable good but it can also do irreparable harm. Never before was there in the hands of men an instrument so powerful to influence the thoughts and actions of the multitudes. The persistent policy pursued over radio and

> television, apart from imparting knowledge can build up the character of the whole people inducing sturdiness and vigour and confidence. On the other hand, it can lead through demoralisation to decadence and disillusion.[8]

National anthems

Given the need to study what is going on in "marginal" areas of broadcasting such as commercials and continuity, it is highly significant that the spaces between programmes on Irish television have marked differences with their British counterparts. To take a straightforward starting point, which illustrates Hartley's analogy with constitutional politics, the national anthem on RTE 1 (the station's main channel in terms of broadcast hours) does not show the Queen of England - for obvious reasons - but is accompanied by film of Irish landscapes and seascapes. The images stress a particular version of the landscape as an uninhabited, barren, unproductive, romantic, timeless scene, an idyllic myth which reoccurs in Irish film and literature. The Irish artist Robert Ballagh has singled out the idealisation of the west of Ireland as being perhaps the greatest inhibiting influence on the development of twentieth century Irish art;[9] Luke Gibbons notes that

> From its beginnings in the early decades of the present century, Irish cinema has been dominated by a number of pervasive and interconnected themes: <u>the idealisation of the landscape</u>, the legacy of the past, the lure of violence and its ominous association with female sexuality, and the primacy of family and community.[10]

So it is hardly surprising that in the television national anthem, the Irish equivalent of the BBC's constitutional monarch, of the uniformed queen on horseback inspecting her troops in regimental formation, is not

the President of Ireland - to whom she is compared in Ireland's conventional political textbooks - but a romantic image of the landscape, of the land itself.

The second and more recent of RTE's two television channels, RTE 2, also emphasises romanticised landscapes in its closedown sequences, using, for example, the painting "Pastures at Coole" by Jack Yeats. Luke Gibbons notes that "The equation of rural life with all that is truly Irish has dominated the work of many modern Irish painters, but is particularly evident in the work of Jack Yeats, Paul Henry and Sean Keating."[11] In sharp contrast, Ulster Television (UTV) in its closedown sequences prefers photographs of contemporary rural and urban scenes in Northern Ireland.

One "non-programme" which British channels do not have is The Angelus, a 60-second slot at six o'clock before the early evening news on RTE 1. It consists of a churchbell soundtrack and a slide of a holy picture (usually a Madonna and Child) - this, despite the fact that a sizeable proportion of the population belongs to non-Catholic religious denominations or does not practise any religion, is the rule rather than the norm. The station, like the State, is presumed to be pluralist but in practice is consensually Catholic.

Continuity announcements

Turning to continuity announcements, these have an important role in establishing station identity, preparing viewers' expectations in advance of the actual programmes, and linking together the continuous stream of television. One major difference between stations is whether continuity announcers are presented to camera, or whether the station relies on the "disembodied voice". In the British context, Ed Buscombe argues that "If (this difference) were only a matter of degree, such as that ITV

announcers were often in vision and those of the BBC rarely, then perhaps one might accept that the reasons were merely contingent. But that the BBC never allows its announcers on screen is an instance of that difference which structural linguistics insists is the foundation of meaning."[12]

Buscombe suggests that this difference may be due to the BBC's being representative of a culture that puts its faith in the word rather than the image - when the BBC wishes to address us directly, it uses words alone, Standard English, the tone of authority and the impersonal righteousness of the public service. ITV addresses us personally, in the flesh, with "the smile of consumer capitalism,"[13] and regional accents. Channel 4 is notable for the particularly familiar and pseudo-intimate form with which it now addresses its audience. Like the BBC, which had announcers in vision when it began, the fourth channel has now reverted to the disembodied voice, but the tone and style at Channel 4 is characterised by a more "personal" form of address - the first person singular and second person - and often including jokey remarks and opinions by the announcer later on in the evening.[14]

Unlike the BBC or Channel 4 - but like UTV and other ITV regions - RTE's continuity announcements are a mixture of presentations to camera and the disembodied voice. Apart from the signing-off at the end of the evening, the announcer generally uses a strict differentiation ("we" being equivalent to the station, "you" to the viewer). The most noticeable difference between the conventions used by RTE and UTV is visual: while UTV often presents the continuity announcer in a medium shot, seated at a slight angle to the camera and surrounded by houseplants, RTE adopts a far more tighter image of head and upper torso straight to camera, in a similar shot to that used for newsreaders.

Within the different approaches the stations are articulating their self-images, in a dual process that is both self-conscious projection and also a subconscious reflection of popular conceptions of their different identities: the formal, disembodied and distanced BBC, the more downmarket and "human" face of ITV and the "adventurous" yet faceless Channel 4. By comparison, that leaves RTE in an ambiguous limbo-land, a commercial organisation (like regional ITV stations, part of the world of commercials and happy faces) yet also a national formal institution, a public sector organisation.

National identity and primetime commercials

RTE's income arises primarily from two sources, advertising (a marginally declining proportion, it now represents about half of broadcasting income)[15] and licence fees; other income arises from sales of programmes, a television guide and an 80% interest in a private company which operates a cable TV system in Dublin (the very system which "pipes" RTE's British competitors into homes in the capital !)

As we have seen, the vast bulk of time before, between and after sections of programmes on RTE consists of commercials. Of these, some would come originally from Britain, promoting British products and aimed - in the first instance - at a British market; a smaller amount again would be British (or, more rarely, American or French), but re-edited (usually by giving a new voiceover in an Irish accent, and perhaps adding particular local information - e.g. the series of commercials for MacDonalds' burger chain). However, the major part of advertising time is devoted to the products and services of Irish companies and organisations, or of subsidiaries of foreign companies in Ireland. These advertisements are usually made in Ireland and catering primarily to the home audience.

A recent independent review of RTE, commissioned by the Government, noted that

> The cost of producing advertisements in Ireland is very high. Most advertisements are made in independent production houses. RTE occasionally produce advertisements but it tends to be on a purely ad hoc and low-cost basis.[16]

Ciaran Moran classifies these Irish TV commercials into four main categories. The first three groups are TV ads which "suggest that we should measure our success by the possession and display of consumer goods and luxuries" (e.g. cars), those "which extol the virtues of the body beautiful" (milk, soap or diet Cola) or are "aimed at the youth market which emphasise care-free fun and enjoyment" (Wrigleys Spearmint Gum or certain Guinness ads, for example).[17] The fourth main area covers

> Those advertisements which ask us to share in building a New Ireland by investing with the major banks or building societies. This promised land is depicted as increasingly industrial though with homes, schools and employment for all. Its citizens are dynamic, go-ahead members of the greater European Economic Community.[18]

To return to Hartley's analogy between "marginal" television and marginal seats, there is a striking convergence of themes, structures, conventions between this fourth category of commercial and party political broadcasts at election-time. Each often builds a visual picture of "The Nation", using pseudo-Census references to occupation, age, gender, rural/urban; besides selling its particular product/service (or partisan party), the specific commercial has embedded within it a wider image of a "disinterested party", drawing on a generality of the National Will (consensus), stressing notions of "choice" and "building".[19]

The following sections look at how these themes are developed in particular commercials in primetime slots - just before, during, or straight after the three programmes with the consistently highest audience viewing figures on RTE. These primetime shows (all home-produced)[20] are: The Late Late Show (a long-running live entertainment and discussion show on Friday and Sunday nights, now also shown in an edited form on Channel 4); Glenroe (a drama serial on Sunday nights about a farming community in Wicklow, just south of Dublin); and Murphy's Micro Quiz-M (a "family" quiz game, also on Sunday nights).

Example 1: The Irish Permanent - "The People's Choice"

This first example, a 30-second commercial by the Irish Permanent Building Society, is part of a series of advertisements by the organisation on the television and radio and in the press, centred on its slogan "Irish Permanent - The People's Choice". It emphasises people of different ages in a rural setting, building a new, particularly Irish society, and culminating in a scene in a stadium where hundreds of people turn over individual placards at once to form a composite "placard" of the central slogan. These images are echoed and reinforced by the soundtrack:

Shots 1-3	A young boy watches a man building a fence on a farm.	Jingle (woman's voice, minor key): "Whatever you want to be", sound of cows mooing.
Shots 4-6	An older man (in his sixties) stands fishing in a river.	"Whatever your time in life". Sound of birds.
Shots 7-9	A smiling young woman teacher enters a classroom of primary schoolchildren throwing paper aeroplanes.	"Whenever you're ready to take control". Classroom noises.

Shot 10	Long shot of a "pastoral" landscape. The words "Irish Permanent" fade upwards into the sky.	Jingle (now a man's voice, in a major key and slower tempo): "We've got it all for you". Tin whistles and Irish pipes join the soundtrack.
Shots 11-12	The young boy (as shot 1) bangs a pole into the ground, on which is attached the notice "We've permanent help on the farm" (handwritten). A large white house and field of cows are in the background.	Jingle (male and female in unison, major key, original tempo):
Shots 13-16	A bare-footed postman with rolled up trousers wades in to the fisherman (shot 4), hands him a letter which he opens ("Monthly Income").	"We'll start you off right, we'll see it through, we'll do our best..."
Shots 17-18	The teacher (shot 7) sits down by a young girl and her drawing of a house with "permanent loans" written in the sky above it.	"... to get it all for you"
Shot 19	The crowd in the stadium pull up their placards to form the sign which is then framed in the middle of the screen and fades to a dot.	Jingle (the whistles and pipes are now in unison with the voices): "Irish..." Diegetic sound of crowds cheering.
Shot 20	Slogan on green background: "We've got it all for you Irish Permanent".	"...Permanent, the people's choice".

A particular version of "Irishness" is constructed by the use of the rural settings, tin whistles and pipes, green graphic backgrounds, particular professions and age-groups, schools and construction of fences. "Community" is connoted by the pronouns and the "people's choice" slogan, the cheering crowd in the sports stadium and the aggregation of the placards (a ritual associated with both the Moscow Olympics and the opening sequences of Match of the Day, the BBC soccer programme). The stadium also has key historical resonances, in that the location is Croke Park (as indicated by a previous commercial in the series of Irish Permanent ads); the stadium is associated historically with a particular image of Irish nationalism, the shrine of Gaelic games and used for political meetings.[21] According to Mark Tierney,

> For some people the G.A.A. (the Gaelic Athletic Association) is like the shamrock, a symbol of Faith and Nationhood, and it is difficult to think of the year passing by without the great gatherings at Croke Park or Semple Stadium. Few will deny that the Association fills some need in the hearts of Irishmen. What this actual "need" is, no-one can accurately say... At one time it was the aggressive nationalism of the Fenian tradition; at another it was a "home rule" kind of nationalism, as when the G.A.A. hurlers provided a guard of honour at Parnell's funeral; today one could say that it panders to a "popular" nationalism.[22]

Another important aspect of the Irish Permanent's campaign is its sponsorship of the world featherweight boxing champion Barry McGuigan. The same slogan is used to link the building society and the national sporting hero as the "people's choice".

A long-running advertising campaign (again on television and radio and in the press) by a rival company, the Educational Building Society (EBS),

directly evokes the pulses of a political campaign. Although it is more oriented towards young, upwardly mobile young professionals, the KBS commercial - like the Irish Permanent one discussed - stresses choice. Its central slogan, "Yes Yes Yes with the KBS", emphasises positive participation in a fashion that is highly reminiscent of campaigns in the Irish parliamentary arena.[23]

Example 2: Employment and Beer

One of the most interesting groups of "nation-building" commercials on Irish television is the type made by government agencies and commercial state-sponsored bodies, particularly those dealing with various training or work experience schemes.

Despite record unemployment, in an economic recession that has continued virtually uninterrupted for well over a decade, the picture painted by commercials never contains even a hint of a suggestion that purchasing/consuming power is being eroded - apart, that is, from the unfortunate woman who hasn't enough money at the supermarket for the automatic washing powder and the fabric conditioner ("Don't worry - Bold 3 does both for less money"). But how do commercials about unemployment itself and employment schemes get around the harsh reality of dole queues which could spoil the comfortable myth of a recessionless Irish society ?

Again, like the building society ads, there is the evocation of a "national reconstruction", a building-up of and (this is deliberately ambiguous) by the "National Spirit". One variation on this theme is a recent commercial by Northern Ireland's industrial development agency: it makes jobs, not labour exchanges, its focus while using the kind of "community singalong" singing more associated with the records of World Cup soccer teams[24] and with a ballad structure and melody that convey a certain regional or sub-national identity, Northern Irishness:

Come on Northern Ireland, come on,

There's a whole lot of work to be done,

We can help you if we can, if you need a helping hand,

So come on Northern Ireland, come on.

More recently again, the Republic's Department of Labour and Social Welfare has used a commercial which addresses the viewer with the slogan: "Let's get the country working again". It is based on a series of narratives in which individuals "lounging around" in places like libraries and cafes "stay" in the same position, but the surroundings change to become a workplace. From being without a job, the person suddenly materialises, by some sleight of camera, in a factory or office. The trick has also been used in contemporary commercials for drinks; in a series for Bass beer, for example, each narrative begins with various small groups of people in situations such as window-cleaning, or visiting a man with a leg in plaster in a hospital ward. The "break" from this situation (both as a visual disruption, a physical change of scene, and as a "break from work") is signalled when one of the people draws a triangle (the beer company's logo) in the air, or on the window being washed etc. Like a wave of a magic wand, this "transports" the same group of people into a pub situation and to drinking the company's product.

Of course, there is nothing new in such video trickery or in-camera editing; budding young film or video camera operators are often quick to pick up on the technique to perform their own disappearing tricks, and in the cinema it was pioneered in particular by the stage magician Georges Melies in Voyage to the Moon (1902) and other films at the turn of the century. But in the pair of employment agency and beer commercials the people do not vanish from the background into nothingness, and there is no evidence of any contraption from the realms of science fiction (like the wierd and wonderful transporter room in the Star Trek TV series). Instead,

the individuals are apparently "transported", or rather transformed, from A to B. And they go from "bad" (joblessness in one advert, the tedium of work and other occupations in the other) to "good" (the preoccupation of work in the one, the leisure of drinking pints in the other) as if by willpower alone. The myth in both operates on a notion that a dividing line between unemployment/employment or between work/leisure can be transversed by mere willpower, exhortation "("Let's" or "Come on") or magic symbols drawn in the air.

Some conclusions

The discourses in these commercials mobilise an ideological construct of "The Nation" and "national identity" both as a goal and as the means of attaining it - as a recessionless society, a promised land that depends not on material factors but on an elusive notion of the strength and consensus of "the national will" to attain it.

It has been widely noted that in recent elections the political parties in both Britain and Ireland have become increasingly aware of the importance of the media in projecting their images to the electorate: television is no longer said to "simply report" elections - it makes elections. Leading advertising agencies and communications training organisations have been called on to groom politicians and reconstruct their media images; autocues such as the so-called "sincerity machine" have been incorporated into speech-making; youth rallies, rock concerts and appearances by political leaders in pop videos have been used in order to attract younger age-groups within the electorate; sophisticated television techniques have been used in modern party political broadcasts - after a recent one for the SDP/Liberal Alliance featuring comedian John Cleese they were contacted by over 5,000 people.

While the parties have undeniably adapted themselves to the media, it is not purely a one-way relationship in which the media are some "instrument out there". Rather, the relationship is marked by a striking convergence between the world of "marginal" television and the arena of parliamentary politics. Commercials, continuity announcements and trailers are addressed either to those who have not yet bought the product/service or programme, or to brand or station/programme loyalty. Similarly, one of the main problems faced by the political system in Ireland is the "floating voter" and the considerable "withdrawal" of large sections of the electorate from the ballot box. In the general elections of June 1981 and February 1982 a significant and increasing proportion of the electorate did not vote, culminating in a non-vote of 27% in the most recent general election in November 1982. This withdrawal is far more marked in urban areas, and in the June 1984 elections for the European Parliament the highest turnout in Dublin constituencies was only 50%; in one area it was as low as 30%. The Constitutional amendment issue which sharply polarised the country in 1982-83 resulted in a Referendum with a national turnout of only 54%. Faced not only with significant disaffection and defections but also - as noted in the introduction to this paper - with fragmentation of the major parties and the rise of newer parliamentary groupings, the dominant political version of "national identity" becomes as much a question of trust as the continuity announcer's message: keep tuned to this station and things are bound to be good. The "National Will" will pull us through, and the job creation schemes and work experience programmes are destined to deliver the goods, even if they seem as mechanically fantastical and far-fetched as the space-age adventures of Captain Kirk and his crew on the Star Trek.

References

1. Stokes Kennedy Crowley management consultants, Review of RTE : Report to the Minister for Communications (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1985), p.16.

2. Ibid. p. 46.

3. Ibid. p. 9.

4. Ibid. p. 212. This figure excludes presales and co-productions, a relatively new arrangement which the SKC regarded as "essentially contributions to costs" rather than a source of revenue.

5. The programmes themselves then began to use the technology in slick, tightly edited and lavish opening sequences, using helicopter shots, other on-location footage and split screens. By comparison the rest of the programme (whether a leading American soap opera like Dallas or the Irish low-budget, homegrown variety like Glenroe) with its far more cheaply produced studio-oriented dialogue, seems far less substantive.

6. John Hartley, "Out of Bounds; the Myth of Marginality" in Len Masterman (ed.) Television Mythologies: Stars, Shows & Signs (London: Comedia / MK Media Press, 1984).

7. Hartley, p. 121.

8. The full text of de Valera's address is given in Martin McLoone and John MacMahon (ed.) Television and Irish Society: 21 Years of Irish Television (Dublin: RTE / IFI, 1984).

9. Robert Ballagh, "The Irishness of Irish Art", unpublished paper (1980) quoted in Luke Gibbons (1983).

10. Luke Gibbons, "Lies that Tell the Truth: Maeve, History and Irish Cinema" in The Crane bag Vol.7 No.2 (Dublin, 1983), p.148.

11. Luke Gibbons, "Synge, Country and Western: The Myth of the West in Irish and American Culture" in Curtin, Kelly and O'Dowd (ed.) Culture and Ideology in Ireland (Galway University Press, 1984) p.1.

12. Ed Buscombe, "Disembodied Voices and Familiar Faces: Television Continuity" in Len Masterman (ed.), pp. 129-130.

13. Ibid. p.130.

14. For example, the spoof rock documentary "This is Spinal Tap" was introduced by Annie Valentine at 11.15 pm on April 11th 1986 thus: "Now, I'm not going to say anything about this, except that I hope you enjoy it as much as I did. It's introduced by that well-known film director... er, what's-'is-name."

15. Stokes Kennedy Crowley report, p. 11.

16. Ibid. p. 190.

17. Ciaran Moran, "The Advertising Agency View of Ireland: Conservative Mono-Culture" in The Cranebag Vol.8 No.2 (Dublin, 1984), pp.84-85.

18. Ibid. p. 84.

19. The Irish Government's current national economic plan reflects an aspect of this too, in its title: "Building on Reality".

20. The Stokes Kennedy Crowley report (p. 191) identified the highest audience figures and "The highest quality supply of advertising time" as being in these three programmes. The top five RTE programmes in TAM ratings (Irish audience measurement figures) for the week ending March 9th 1986 were:

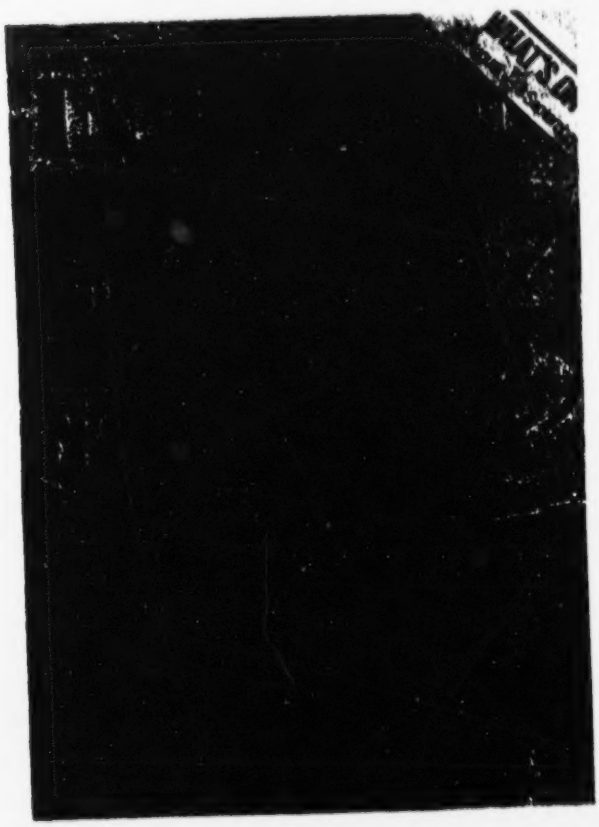
	Tam Ratings	No. of homes
The Late Late Show	66	597,000
Dallas	64	578,000
Glenroe	62	558,000
Murphy's Micro Quiz-M	56	504,000
Screen Test	51	464,000

The highest News Tam-Rating was Friday (63) and the average News Tam-Rating for the week was 52.

21. This tradition continues to the present day. In their current pay dispute with the Government, the three teachers' unions held a national mass meeting in the stadium.

22. Mark Tierney, "The Public and Private Image of the GAA - A Centenary Appraisal" in The Cranebag Vol.8 No.2 (Dublin, 1984), p.161.

23. A recent example was the Constitutional Referendum of 1983, during which the "Yes Yes Yes" EBS commercial was running. The words "Yes" and "No" were the material dividing line on the Referendum issue - they appeared thus on the ballot papers, and the opposing camps on the issue were campaigning for "yes" and "no" votes. The lobby which argued for the necessity of the Constitutional Amendment called itself the Pro-Life Amendment Campaign, implying by rhetorical elison that the other side was therefore "anti-Life". The cover of In Dublin, a liberal magazine, used a "No" cartoon to portray its stance on the issue:



24. The Northern Ireland soccer team has, in fact, adopted the tune as its official song on record since the commercials were first shown.